4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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Bang Chan

621 631 essentials not atypical of the region. Instead of villages being organized administratively on the basis of natural social groupings and demarcations—that is, social centers and groups with which people feel a primary identification, in Bang Chan's case the local Buddhist monastery and government primary school—so that governmental and social units are isomorphic, they are gerrymandered into highly arbitrary administrative units. Thus the village of Bang Chan is comprised of seven *muubaan* or hamlets, at the head of which are seven hamlet headmen; these hamlets are located in two different *tambon*, or communes (four in one commune, three in the other) headed by two commune headmen, neither of whom lives in Bang Chan; the two communes are located in two different districts headed by two different district officers and their staffs; the two districts fortunately are in a single province, Phranakhoon, the same administrative unit in which the metropolis of Bangkok is located. Yet the people who reside in these varying hamlets located in different communes and districts all perceive themselves as living in the single village of Bang Chan. The fundamental organizational problem here is that since the sources and lines of governmental authority do not follow the lines of the natural Bang Chan community, jurisdictional conflicts and confusions arise to threaten the effectiveness of those community-wide programs that occasionally may be initiated. For example, during a diphtheria immunization campaign in the village (Hanks and Hanks 1955), the public health officer from one of the district offices was reluctant to immunize all the children of Bang Chan on the grounds that some of them came from hamlets outside his district's jurisdiction; he yielded, as the Hankses note, only when a perceptive villager pointed out that if germs knew no boundaries why should he?

Not all villages of the Central region have such real or potential administrative difficulties. (And Bang Chan does not have them too frequently either, principally because the government does not initiate too many community service programs.) However, the basic organizational principle which admits them—that houses are grouped together as administrative "villages" on the basis of conceptual neatness rather than socially functional criteria—is a common feature of the administrative structure of the Central Plain.

621 792 The foregoing account describes some basic culture patterns which Bang Chan shares with other villages of either the region or the nation. In addition to these broader patterns, Bang Chan has certain traits which inevitably refer to local village conditions and contingencies. For example, the most active and viable social unit in Bang Chan beyond the familial level is the order of Buddhist monks associated with the monastery. It is the only organization within the village that has been successful in mobilizing community activity (Sharp *et al.* 1953), although much of this activity has

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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been religious in nature—getting the assistance of villagers to construct monks' cubicles or repairing the small rest pavilions near the monastery, the "pay" for which is Buddhist merit—or, if secular, infused with sacred attributes, such as when the head monk helped raise funds for the construction of the Bang Chan school by supporting the notion that villagers who gave money to the school would make merit. It is clear, however, that the organizational vigor of the Bang Chan monkhood is mainly a function of the aggressive personality and leadership of Bang Chan's particular abbot, and that with a more retiring, contemplative head monk—a not uncommon or undesirable role for an abbot—the situation would be strikingly different.

In a similar vein, it is difficult to link the incidence of land ownership and tenancy in Bang Chan with any consistent national or regional pattern. At the national level, Thailand is fortunate among predominantly peasant nations in having a comparatively low level of land tenancy, an estimated 80 percent of the cultivated land of the country being owned by the small, independent farmers who work it (National FAO Committee of Thailand 1949). However, within these broad, national parameters there is considerable inter- and intra-regional variation. Zimmerman's study in the early 1930's indicated that the number of peasants without land ranged from 14 percent in Southern Thailand, through 27 percent in the North, to 36 percent in the Central Plain. These regional figures seemed to have remained relatively constant through the years in that deYoung (1955) reports a tenancy figure of 27.7 percent for a village in the North which he studied in 1949, and Janlekha (1955) indicates a figure of 37 percent for Bang Chan, in the Central Plain, in 1953.[4] As close as the Bang Chan figure may seem to its regional average, however, it is of little significance when seen against the background of variability that exists within the region as a whole: for example, in villages near the city of Lopburi, only 12 percent of the villagers are landless, but in the Khlong Rangsit area, not far

[4] It should be noted, however, that other indices of economic well-being in Bang Chan have not remained constant. To the extent that his historical materials permit, Janlekha (1955) points out that land holdings have become increasingly smaller, the amount of time newly-married couples must live with one set of parents (in order to accumulate the capital necessary for setting up their own neolocal households) longer, and the price of land higher. Janlekha's data indicate that in the five-year period between 1948 and 1953 alone, the price of agricultural land, as contrasted with considerably more expensive residential land, in and around Bang Chan increased 560 percent!

It is also well to keep in mind Janlekha's observation that, depending upon familial circumstances such as number of children and availability and proximity of labor, a Bang Chan farmer who rents a large plot of land from a benevolent absentee landlord, who is often unfamiliar with Bang Chan crop values, may be considerably better off economically than a farmer who works a small plot of land that is all his own.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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621 a loosely defined, laterally oriented kindred; the nation-state (mentioned
594 not for formal reasons, but because it actually is psychologically impor-
64 tant); and to a lesser extent, the village monastery and school. Of these five
792 institutions, the nuclear family is the principal focus of psychological
871 concern, beyond the individual himself. Otherwise, there are in Bang
[564] Chan no castes, age-grade societies, occupational groups (other than the
[561] family), neighborhood groups, or groups expressive of village solidarity
[571] (such as councils or governing boards) which might impose a sense of obligation on the villagers, or to whose norms or functions the villagers might have to conform.[6] Bang Chaners do not have to contribute their labor to their community, serve as village guards, contend with the dictates of village elders, or even actively coöperate with fellow villagers.

621 All villagers have additional relationships of varying degrees of inti-
571 macy both within and without the community, but these are dyadic, not group, relationships based on implicit expectations of mutual benefit. Such contacts are in nature primarily idiosyncratic (friends), transient (reciprocal work groups, gambling and drinking partners), or contractual (as opposed to affective or kin determined: vendors, landlords, debtors, rice millers, employers, and doctors). It is important to recognize that if some of these latter relationships take on positive affective qualities, they may also assume some of the forms and feelings of kinship. Thus, a young man who is taken on as a hired hand by a family frequently ceases to be considered an "employee" and becomes instead an "adopted son." (This type of
[171] *gemeinschaft* relationship, contrary perhaps to theoretical expectations, is also characteristic of many occupational situations in Bangkok.) In a
571 similar vein, the terms for older sibling (*phii*), elder uncle (*lung*), and
601 elder aunt (*paa*) are used as terms of address and reference between
609 individuals who are obviously not related to each other, but who wish to mark overtly their fondness and respect for one another. The use of these

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[6] There are two minor exceptions to this generalization: (1) a monastery lay committee whose functions are limited to the secular tasks of monastery administration, and membership in which brings prestige and Buddhist merit to a few selected members of the community; and (2) reciprocal work groups organized for and limited to rice transplanting and harvesting, membership in which is completely voluntary and a matter of mutual convenience (Janlekha 1955). Careful accounts are kept as to how much labor is contributed by each participating family, and responsibility for remitting labor received lies with the individual participant, not the group.

It must be noted that the monastery and its cadre of relatively permanent monks, although the very institution that defines the existence of "the village of Bang Chan," is not from the point of view of its clientele primarily a unit representative of village cohesiveness. It is first and foremost *a* Buddhist monastery where one may make merit and only secondarily *the Bang Chan* Monastery. Several members of the community patronize other monasteries, and several Bang Chan monks come from other locales. The keen sense of individual obligation that villagers feel toward their monastery could be directed toward any monastery.

and KY followed by a number.) The center of social life in Bang Chan is the Buddhist monastery or wat and the adjacent government primary school. The community simply consists of the clientele which regularly patronizes Wat Bang Chan and this school rather than other comparable institutions elsewhere in the region. Within the area of the community lives a minority of Thai Moslems constituting about ten per cent of the population. They have their own mosque which happens to be just outside Bang Chan, but they attend many secular and some Buddhist functions at Wat Bang Chan. A number of small stores, which also serve as coffee houses and men's clubs, are used as neighborhood centers in different parts of the village. Near the central wat and school, there is also a store, and the house provided by one of the headmen for use as the Project headquarters.

This present interim report of the Cornell Thailand Project includes some of the data necessary for the design of a program to improve health and diet in Bang Chan. Another report, now in preparation, will give the results of a detailed dietary survey made in the community following the health survey reported on here. These two studies together will indicate existing deficiencies in health and diet, and will permit the formulation of recommendations for needed changes in behavior as these can be realized in the context of the village and national culture.

The author of this study, Dr. Hazel M. Hauck, is Professor of Food and Nutrition in Cornell University. She has been associated with the work of the Cornell Thailand Project since 1950. She not only designed and supervised the research on health, nutritional status, and diet in Bang Chan, but during almost a year of field work in Thailand she obtained valuable data on many other topics for the Project's files. Some of her daily work in Bang Chan made little sense to the villagers, but they nevertheless became devoted to her. Her energy, tact and fine spirit in facing the discomforts and difficulties of rough field work in a tropical foreign land inspired both her Thai and American associates. Working with Professor Hauck were Dr. Anusith Rajatasilpin, now a teacher in the School of Public Health in Bangkok; Miss Sapha Indrasud, now in the Ministry of Public Health; Dr. Chumlong Kittiveja, of the Dental School of the University of Medical Sciences, Bangkok; and Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, who has been doing post-graduate work in nutrition at Cornell and Harvard. To all of these faithful workers, the Cornell Thailand Project is greatly indebted.

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T 63 Place of Bangchan in the Administrative Area

In the highly centralized system of Thai administration, the whole country is divided into 9 circles (pharq), 71 provinces (changwad), 414 districts (amphur) and 77 sub-districts (king-amphur), 3,650 communes (tambol), and some 50,000 hamlets (muban).

CT 621 634 121 In the section on reasons for the choice of the field site (page 32) mention was made of an artificial division of Bangchan between two administrative units. By that we mean one part of our "natural" or "functional" Bangchan village administratively belongs to one amphur and the other part belongs to another amphur. The situation will become more vivid when we discuss our "natural" Bangchan village.

CT 621 121 Our "Natural" Bangchan Village

In this study we are not interested in an administrative unit which is often an artificial division, but rather in a "natural" or "functional" village which may be operationally defined as a geographical area inhabited by a conglomeration of people having one or more common social centers.

CT 621 •794 872 Bangchan people patronize an active Buddhist religious institution popularly known as Wat Bangchan, and an adjacent government primary school, both centrally located in the community.

CT 621 *128 For practical reasons for ease in statistical manipulation, we assume that the smallest administrative unit --

[Erratum: this should read "page 36"---Analyst]

175
621 elephants still roamed. They thus opened up to commercial rice production a new region lying behind the thin fringe of population already occupying all land bordering Saensaeb Canal.

The genealogies suggest that it was not until the 1880's that any major settlement occurred in Bangchan. There is doubtless a correlation between the rapid development of the community from then on and the increasing national and international demand for rice. Many of the settlers of this period were persons displaced from a southern and a northern section of Bangkok who were uprooted by the government which forced purchase of their land for the first Thai railroad and a large munitions factory. The Thai Islam or Moslem group in Bangchan claims descent from Patani Malays who were sent north by the Thai government in the course of wars during the 1830's and 1840's; many of their families settled in Donburi or along Saensaeb Canal before moving into the Bangchan area. Another element came into the region in the 1890's when some Lao Thai were encouraged to settle here after having fled their countryiin the northeast when the French occupied it in 1893.

[173]
[794]

By 1895 the Bangchan population was sufficiently numerous to support its own wat, which was established and officially recognized about that time and has flourished ever since.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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434 amounted to somewhere around 5,000 baht, which was about
463 four times as much as the labor earnings of an average rice
621 farm operator as we shall see later.

178 The present occupational situation and accounts of
463 the changes in the past few years alone may not be enough to give us a complete picture of occupational development since the beginning of the history of Bangchan. Fourtunately, however, since settlement in the village in a considerable scale took place only some eighty years ago, evidence from genealogical studies has provided us with ample materials on which a reconstruction of the past development may be made.

[175] When Bangchan was being settled in the 1870's, as a probable consequence of the increasing national and international demand for rice and the revolutionary change in Thai society, every family was naturally a farm operator family. As long as there was land available for clearing, opportunity would be open for every new family, either branching off from the old ones or moving in from the outside, to operate a rice farm.

[161] Eventually, population grew up to a size large enough
[194] to support a temple in 1895. Population growth and the
[175] emergence of a village center at the temple prompted occupational specialization. At the beginning, investing, trading, professional servicing, and home enterprising probably took the forms of secondary occupations, while farm operating remained the primary occupation throughout. In time, these secondary occupations became more and more specialized and